I; Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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562 [262] better food to the male members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male 462 Badaga, too, works in the field, or at his own craft if he 562 is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that, even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages." Further, Mr. Grigg states that "as the men constantly leave their villages to work on coffee plantations, much of the labour in their own fields, as well as ordinary household work, is performed by the [461] [583] women. They are so industrious, and their services of such value to their husbands, that a Badaga sometimes 462 pays 150 or 200 rupees as dowry for his wife." In the off season for cultivation, I am informed, the Badaga woman collects faggots for home consumption, and stores them near her house, and the women prepare the fields for cultivation by weeding, breaking the earth, and collecting manure.

651 656 In his report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris (1885), Mr. (now Sir) R. S. Benson notes that "concurrently with the so-called abolition of the bhurty (or shifting) system of cultivation, Mr. Grant abolished the peculiar system in vogue up to that time in Kundahnad, which had been transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiris in 1860. This system was known as erkādu kothukādu. Under it, a tax of Re. 1 to Re. 1-8-0 was levied for the right to use a plough or er, and a tax of from 4 to 8 annas was levied for the right to use a hoe or kothu. The so-called patta issued to the ryot under this system was really no more than a license to use one or more hoes, as the case might be. It merely specified the amount payable for each instrument, but in no cases

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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> The hill people are so independent...that no temptation of wages will induce them to engage... as coolies, and they are only prevailed upon to work from a conviction that, refusing to do so, Government might make some just demands against them for increase of rent [land revenue]...[4]

By the 1840s there were many Badaga families earning a certain amount during a few months of each year from townspeople, from plantations and perhaps from the new Mission (Ouchterlony, 1848, 64; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64). Their economy was now monetized, though the majority of families were still dependent on farming for their food requirements.

EXPANSION OF THE MARKET ECONOMY (1850–1900)

During the second half of the nineteenth century far-reaching economic changes triggered by the British settlers introduced the concept of competition and the importance of valuation to the Badagas. There is little indication of any competitiveness in their indigenous exchange activities or bartering practices before about 1840.

The opening of coffee (1838) and tea (1846) plantations on the plateau called for a great deal of manual labour; and by the 1850s many Badaga men found themselves competing for the first time with immigrants in a labour market.[5] Each group constituted one-half of the work force (Grigg, 1880, 399), but the British estate owners now preferred Badaga workers to immigrants because of their diligence. The labourers were paid in cash, not grain.

Secondly, the sizeable European population on the hills was now requiring quantities of cabbage, carrot, potato and other European vegetables which some Badaga farmers were able to supply. Their tradition of intensive farming in small fields was readily adapted to the new crops (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 35); and their venture was helped by a climate not unlike that of northwestern Europe (an English poet later was to muse on 'the sweet, half-English Neilgherry air').

During the latter half of the century a wide variety of indigenous farm products also found their way into the local market.[6] These foodstuffs were local varieties of wheat and barley, Italian, finger and slender millet, prince's feather (or amaranth), mustard seed,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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a large landowner this latter system was quite efficient and profitable, even though he had to feed those who were working in his fields and was also obliged to give them a big feast on the last day of their field-work *(kambuwa)* which enhanced social solidarity. These two techniques of co-operative labour also benefitted the landless, for they could thereby share in the harvest of someone else or at least be more regularly fed.

In the early decades of this century immigrant Kanarese and Tamilians, some of them the creditors of Badaga farmers, began to buy up former Badaga land and farm it with the help of labourers, both poor Badagas and immigrants. It was probably this trend which led those who worked on Badaga farms to expect payment in cash rather than a share of the harvest or a mutual exchange of labour. Those patterns of co-operation have passed away. The educated would now rather remain unemployed than work in a neighbour's field, and with the transition to cash-crop farming most feel it is not worth helping someone else reap his profit. Things were different when co-operative farming helped put food into the village's granary baskets.

Among rural Badagas the old order has not been replaced by a class society. We can only identify a land-owning class, a tenant class and a labouring class in the larger rural society which embraces other communities as well. The land-owners who are Badagas generally prefer Tamilian or Kanarese tenants, as it is easier to lay down stiff terms for rental and to become stern when such non-Badagas fail to pay the rent after an unsuccessful season. Badaga tenants have too many ways of pressuring their landlord into overlooking their inability to pay rent on time. The agricultural labourers are normally lowland immigrants, too. It is considered somewhat demeaning for Badagas to take on such work, especially under a Badaga proprietor. Social classes are thus not yet to be found among Badaga villagers, and the three main social categories in farming are seen by Badagas as occupational and caste differences.

The present range of occupations of both Badagas and other rural communities is suggested by Table 3, derived from a rough sample of adolescent and adult males aged 15 to 85. Clearly farm work is still the most prevalent activity, but now a substantial proportion of men in the rural population are working in occupations (categories V to IX) that typify participation in a monetary economy.[27]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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population is increasing, and that the position of the Badaga has materially improved. I notice especially the facts that they are now tiling their houses, that their women and children earn money on the tea and coffee estates, and that they buy rāgi and grain from the low country, and get a better market for their straw and cattle. They wear jewels of gold and silver, saved from their earnings'; quoted by Grigg, 1880, 34. This contrasts with the situation at the start of the British occupation of the hills, when the Badagas were so few in proportion to the land available that there was no need for crop rotation, as fields could be left fallow for years at a time; Mackworth, 1823, 124–126.

3. Emeneau, 1946, 265. Ranga, 1934, 4, reports that around 1930, 'In addition to this heavy expenditure upon funerals, more than three hundred Badagas cease work for more than two days and live at the expense of the relatives of the deceased or the people of the village. The expenses of a funeral incurred by all the Badagas in a hamlet come to more than Rs. 600. To add to this, their European employers lose their confidence in the ability of these people for regular service, since they cease work without giving any notice whatever . . .'; similarly Metz, 1864, 89–90.

[p. 246 is blank]

matter by Lambert (1962).

In another study by Lambert, this one of factory-workers in Poona (1963), he discusses the types of social change that accompany the "modernization" process. A comparable situation to that of these urban workers can already be seen in the "modernization" of the Badagas: Badagas are finding social mobility much easier and much more rapid than it was half a century ago; more complex divisions of labor are emerging with the appearance of labor contractors and college graduates among the ranks of the Badagas; people are becoming cognizant that their lot can be changed with effort as well as good luck. This last point can even be supported with some statistical evidence: in a sample of 420 Badagas (including 119 females), the following responses were given to the question, "Does success in life depend mainly on luck?" --.

Yes, mainly on luck	47.4%
Both on luck and hard work	4.3
No, only on hard work	46.4
No, only on God's will	0.2
(Not ascertained)	1.7

("Luck", or "good fortune", was thought to be the factor which caused uncontrollable circumstances to act in favor of the individual. The English word luck or lakku is sometimes used in Badagu speech.)

Females stressed luck much more than hard work (61.3% favored luck, 31.9% hard work), whereas males showed an opposite bias (41.9% favored luck, while 52.2% stressed hard work). It is thus true of the Badagas that about half of them recognize the value of hard work (perhaps helped along by luck) in making a success out of their lives. The concept of success is not a new preoccupation in their economic activities; the concept of depending primarily upon one's own effort for it probably is new, however.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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142 field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg
[147] says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

562 Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat
142 different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged
562 otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga
465 therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work
562 on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and
461 her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali (Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male
142 members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too
461 works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but
462 his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a
562 harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

181 Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District.
142 Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry,
461 and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

342 Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall, called *Edirmané*,—front house. The